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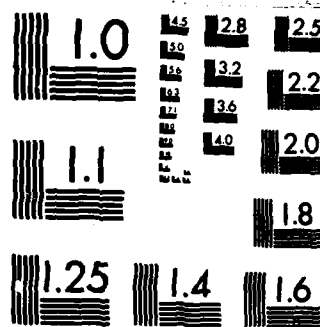
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HISPANIC SUBPOPULATIONS AND NAVAL SERVICE

Edited By

H. Wallace Sinaiko
Smithsonian Institution

Patrick Michael Curran
Office of Naval Research

Bert T. King
Office of Naval Research

Jeffrey M. Schneider
Consultant

May 1985



Manpower Research and Advisory Services

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) On December 11, 1984, the Manpower R&D Program of the Office of Naval Research sponsored a workshop on increasing the numbers of Hispanics in the naval services. The objective of the meeting was to bring together researchers and personnel managers and policy makers who were concerned about the topic. Briefings by the researchers dealt with the following subjects vis-a-vis Hispanic subpopulations: demographics, psychocultural patterns, (continued)		

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Block 19, continued:

Cuban Americans	Differential education and training
English as a second language	Improving Hispanic recruitment to the Navy
Ethnic images	Recruiting minorities to high-skill jobs
Acculturation	Effects of segregation on learning

Block 20, Abstract, continued:

training and education, recruitment strategies for high-skill jobs, and history of military service. Participants drew implications for naval manpower policy from the presentations; questions for further research were also framed. It was concluded that: (a) there are distinctive and significantly different subpopulations of Hispanic Americans; (b) command of English is of great importance in the modern military; (c) Hispanics have been exemplary in the U.S. military; and (d) the Hispanic sector of the population is growing rapidly and is therefore an attractive source of manpower. Questions posed were: (a) to what extent should the Navy give special training in English and in the navy culture in order to enhance the adjustment of Hispanic recruits? (b) what are the implications of differences in values (between groups of Hispanics and between them and mainstream Americans) for recruitment, training, and career management?

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HISPANIC SUBPOPULATIONS AND NAVAL SERVICE

*Proceedings of a Workshop
held at
Arlington, Virginia
11 December 1984*

EDITORS:

H. Wallace Sinaiko
Smithsonian Institution

Patrick Michael Curran
Office of Naval Research

Bert T. King
Office of Naval Research

Jeffrey M. Schneider
Consultant

April 1985

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SUMMARY

A workshop on "Hispanic Subpopulations and Naval Service" was held on 11 December 1984. The purpose of the meeting was to enable researchers to meet with personnel managers and policy makers. The questions addressed (and answered, at least in part) were: What do we know about the predilections of Hispanic Americans to serve in the military? What are the barriers to naval service for that group? How do Hispanics differ from other subpopulations in the ways they perceive military service? What can the naval services do to increase Hispanic participation?

Six briefings by researchers made up the first half of the workshop. They covered demographic factors, Hispanic cultural patterns, historical evidence on Hispanic military service, and training and educational considerations. The second part of the meeting consisted of informal reactions to the briefings, a consideration of policy implications of the research, and a discussion of further research needs.

Highlights of the briefings included: a) data on population trends (e.g., growth patterns among Hispanic groups); b) evidence of English language deficiencies and the need to provide remediation; c) a discussion of acculturation problems faced by Hispanic recruits to the naval services; d) arguments for and against policies that would treat Hispanics differently from mainstream or other minority personnel; and e) suggestions for more effective recruiting of Hispanic youth. (All of those points, and others, are elaborated in the section which contains abstracts of the briefings.)

Discussions of the personnel-policy implications of the meeting focused on these central themes:

- a. Hispanics are a very attractive source of naval manpower;
- b. Competency in English--reading, and understanding spoken English--is essential for satisfactory naval service;
- c. Recruiting among Hispanic subpopulations requires special appeals and techniques that can be derived from research-based knowledge;
- d. Attaining equal opportunity goals puts a special burden on navy leaders, particularly junior officers;
- e. "Acculturation" to the Navy can be interpreted as "mutual adaptation" rather than giving up one's culture, Hispanic or other.

Some of the main areas for further research that were proposed were: a) the development of training programs that would accelerate, for Hispanics and others, learning about how the Navy works; b) continued intensive investigations of selected Hispanic subgroups so that recruiting can be targeted to them; c) analysis of the superior performance of some Hispanic subgroups; d) an exploration of those adjustment problems among Hispanics which may be due to cultural factors; and e) job-search behavior among Hispanics and other minority personnel. All of the proposed research is of an applied nature. It was evident that any future work on Hispanics,

however, should be based on larger, more representative samples than those that have been used. Longitudinal studies of Hispanics in the Navy would provide valuable information.

A fact that came up repeatedly at the workshop was that Hispanics differ not only from Anglos--in their beliefs, value systems, and behaviors--but also from each other, i.e., from subgroup to subgroup. What was not as clear was the implication of that heterogeneity for recruiting and training. The workshop did not settle on recommended courses of action stemming from either Anglo-Hispanic or intra-Hispanic differences.

INTRODUCTION

The Office of Naval Research (ONR) supports the investigation of a wide range of issues having to do with naval manpower. One of the main areas of inquiry has been how to relieve shortages of conventional sources of manpower (i.e., young entrants into the labor market). Recently ONR has supported work on a particular segment of the youth population that is not only underrepresented in the naval services but also a growing proportion of the population: Hispanics. Researchers have, among other things, looked into the specific cultural attributes of Hispanics and into Hispanic value systems and beliefs as a precursor to a better understanding of their motivations and career plans. Such understanding is necessary if the Navy is to be more effective in recruiting and retaining Hispanic Americans.

On 11 December 1984 the ONR Manpower R&D Program, under the chairmanship of its manager, CAPT P. M. Curran, USN, convened a day-long workshop to bring researchers who had recently published completed work on Hispanics together with representatives of navy agencies that have responsibility for manpower policy and operations. (See Appendix A for the list of workshop attendees.) It was the purpose of the meeting to permit the researchers to present their findings and to facilitate a two-way discussion of the implications of those findings for policy. We also sought to define areas of new research needed to fill critical gaps in our knowledge.

The agenda (see Appendix B) set aside a half-day for briefings by the academic researchers. Six speakers covered research, both completed and ongoing, that dealt with: Hispanic participation in the military, a demographic overview of Hispanic Americans, training and educational considerations, cultural patterns among Hispanics, and psychocultural perceptions that differ between and within Hispanic subpopulations and between those groups and mainstream Americans. Speakers were asked to emphasize outcomes and to speculate on their implications for the Navy and Marine Corps. Navy participants, speaking less formally, reacted to the researchers' presentations and interjected their own agencies' special manpower needs. Members of the ONR Manpower R&D Planning Committee who had convened the meeting summarized the main points of the workshop, including what they saw as directions for further research.

The remainder of this paper is in three parts: first we present abstracts of the formal presentations; next we summarize the discussion session; and lastly we present conclusions and prospects for new research.

ABSTRACTS

Demographic Overview of Hispanic America Leo Estrada, UCLA

In general there are some striking features of the U.S. population profile: for example, greater longevity among women, shifts in certain age ranges that reflect changing birth rates in the 1930s depression, the baby boom of the 1940s-50s, and the baby bust of the 1970s. Forty percent of Americans alive today were born during the baby boom. There is also a significant and growing bulge at the top of the age pyramid--reflecting, since 1910, an increased longevity for both men and women. Other trends for the population as a whole are: a) fewer births, b) a higher mean age for first marriages, c) higher divorce rates, with a subsequent lowered fertility rate, d) more small households, especially those maintained by single parents, e) more working women (e.g., 52 percent of all adult women are in the labor force), and f) a continuing population growth overall due to lower infant mortality and high fertility among minority Americans. (Between 1970 and 1980, minority increases in the population were: black, 17 percent; Asian, 142 percent; and Hispanic, 61 percent.) Members of minority groups are younger: for example, Hispanics' median age is 24, in contrast to 30 for the population as a whole.

Hispanics categorize or identify themselves primarily as Mexican (60 percent), Puerto Rican (14 percent), and Other (8 percent); the remaining 18 percent includes Cubans and other small and idiosyncratically defined groups. The Hispanic portion of the population has increased by over three million in each of the last three decades, and the proportion of Hispanics in the U.S. in 1980 was 6.4 percent. In numbers there were just under 15 million Hispanics in 1983. The growth is expected to continue to about the year 2000 because of the youthfulness of Hispanics, i.e., the high percentage of women who will be in their peak childbearing years during that time.

Hispanics currently constitute the largest minority group in most western states. One of the consequences of the growth in the Hispanic population and its geographic concentration will be greater congressional representation of the southwestern states and Florida. Most U.S.-born Hispanic Americans live in Texas and California, and most foreign-born live in Florida. Both the Los Angeles and New York metropolitan areas have heavy Hispanic concentrations. Only Asian Americans are more heavily concentrated in urban (but not inner-city) settings.

With regard to the command of English, about 50 percent of all Hispanics do not speak English in their homes, as opposed to 10 percent of Americans overall. Among the Spanish speakers, however, three-fourths say they speak English "well." At present about 50 percent of the 25-34 year old cohort are high school graduates and 10 percent go to college; both percentages are growing.

Hispanic women's participation in the labor force is similar to that of women in general. Unemployment rates for Hispanics are higher than for non-Hispanics. The modal occupation is "operative," e.g., in manufacturing and service industries. Relatively few Hispanics hold managerial, professional, or technical jobs; the fact that manufacturing is on the decline in the United States suggests more future unemployment among Hispanic Americans. Hispanic family incomes average 70 percent of those of non-Hispanics; and, since Hispanics tend to have large families, the average per capita income is even smaller (i.e., 60 percent of that of non-Hispanics). The net effect is that poverty rates are high among Hispanic Americans.

In conclusion, the demographics of mid-1980s America have considerable importance for military planners: a) the decline in the youth population as a whole is already evident (e.g., there are more unskilled entry-level jobs unfilled); b) the youth population will continue to decline until about 1993, with an upward trend to be evident by 1999; c) minority youth, who are least well prepared for high-tech jobs, are an increasing proportion of the total, and d) the military will have to compete for youthful entrants with colleges and industrial employers. The major problem with respect to Hispanic and other minority accessions to the military will lie in training rather than in recruiting. That is, with fewer young people to choose from, we will have to be less selective. Consequently, the military services will have to provide basic-skills remediation to more people than it now does if the complex hardware coming along is to be mastered.

Cultural Patterns of Hispanics vis-a-vis Military Service
Harry C. Triandis, University of Illinois

Research on samples of both Hispanic and mainstream (i.e., Anglo) recruits in the Navy has developed a number of interesting findings about psychological makeup, beliefs, and values. Hispanic recruits were more like mainstreamers than they were like other Hispanic youth not in the Navy, suggesting that there has been: a) selectivity on the part of either the Navy or the Hispanics who enter military service, or b) a pronounced acculturation to navy and Anglo norms. The anthropological literature indicates that Hispanics tend toward an external locus of control--i.e., they believe that fate and luck determine a great deal of what happens to them. But the Illinois research showed Hispanics in the Navy typically to be more internal in their motivational patterns, as is true of Anglos. (The researchers noted that Hispanics in their sample tended to come from broken homes in a proportion higher than is characteristic of Hispanics in general but not unlike that of Anglos.)

An anthropological perspective suggests that minority entrants into the military would have to become acculturated to both the mainstream and the Navy's special culture. This research showed that all recruits, Anglo and Hispanic, were confused about how to succeed in the Navy but that the latter had a more difficult time and tended to become disaffected and unhappy. The occupational classification procedure, for example, was confusing to Hispanics, who had little understanding of career options when they entered

the Navy. The fact, for many, of speaking English as a second language exacerbated the problem. Relatively fewer Hispanics than Anglos entered prestigious technical training schools, but the reasons for this are not clear. There is some evidence that Hispanics who have entered the Navy recently have more knowledge about that service and aren't quite as lost in the new culture as their predecessors.

Hispanics characteristically perceive those in positions of power as being able to solve the problems of subordinates. In a naval context, this point of view suggests that Hispanics may expect more from their officers and petty officers than mainstreamers do. Another characteristic Hispanic belief is in the importance of the extended family. Families are seen as warm, cooperative, and supportive. In considering joining the military, young Hispanics typically express concern about being able to maintain links with their families. Still another attribute that differentiates Hispanics is their perception of work situations as negative, hostile, and dangerous--a view that may be hard for the Navy to overcome.

An implication for the Navy of the Illinois research on Hispanics is this: While the Navy represents a new cultural experience for all recruits, the strangeness is exaggerated for Hispanics, partly because of their language and partly because of the assumptions they make about what behavior is proper. It is possible to overcome these problems through special training programs that help non-mainstream recruits to understand how the Navy works.

The researchers reiterated the caveat that their findings may be based on recruits who are atypical Hispanics in that they are more like mainstream recruits than like Hispanic youth who are not in the Navy.

Psychocultural Findings

Lorand Szalay, Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, Inc.

The research reported here, a subset of work done over the past ten years, aims at defining the "psychocultural" dimensions of particular ethnic groups. The technique used is called Associative Group Analysis, an unstructured word association approach. The results presented come from three major studies sponsored by the Office of Naval Research, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the U.S. Department of Education. They are based on fourteen independent 100-person samples of Mexican Americans, Cubans, or Puerto Ricans in various geographic regions. The comparative analysis relies on over 100,000 reactions elicited from each sample. Dominant perceptions and value orientations were compared in ten broad domains of life such as family, interpersonal relations, leadership values, and military service.

The most salient outcome of the research was the fact of intergroup heterogeneity. There is no monolithic or homogeneous Hispanic subculture to stand in contrast to Anglo culture. Consequently, any broad generalization on Hispanic American differences can be terribly deceptive.

There is a tendency to view the relationship between Hispanic Americans and Anglo Americans as bipolar. This assumption is based on readily observable differences in surname, skin color, and language usage or accent. What emerged from the studies, however, is a clear and consistent picture of multipolarity. The findings indicate that the critical point is not whether someone is "Hispanic" or "Anglo" American. What is really important in recruiting and retaining bright young Hispanic Americans is their perception of military service, their interest in a service career, and the compatibility of their perceptions of military service with their values and aspirations. Personnel policies geared to the "U.S. mainstream" can be expected to have different impacts on the various Hispanic groups: on Mexican Americans, for example, who were found to be very acculturated and in human terms almost indistinguishable from the Anglo Americans, and on Puerto Ricans, who were found to be more traditionally Hispanic and different from the mainstream in many important ways. (Puerto Ricans were found to be distant not only from Anglos but from the acculturated Mexican Americans as well.)

Psychocultural distances between the different regional Hispanic samples and the Anglo Americans vary widely. The overriding reason for this diversity is differences in degree of acculturation. The consistent and sizable differences strongly suggest that personnel management should use methods and procedures specifically adapted to traditional Hispanic dispositions in order to attract the less acculturated groups such as the Puerto Ricans tested in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami. It should shift attention from differences between Anglos and Hispanics to those between Hispanics of different degrees of acculturation. This means that a relatively smaller number of traditional Hispanics will require special attention in personnel management.

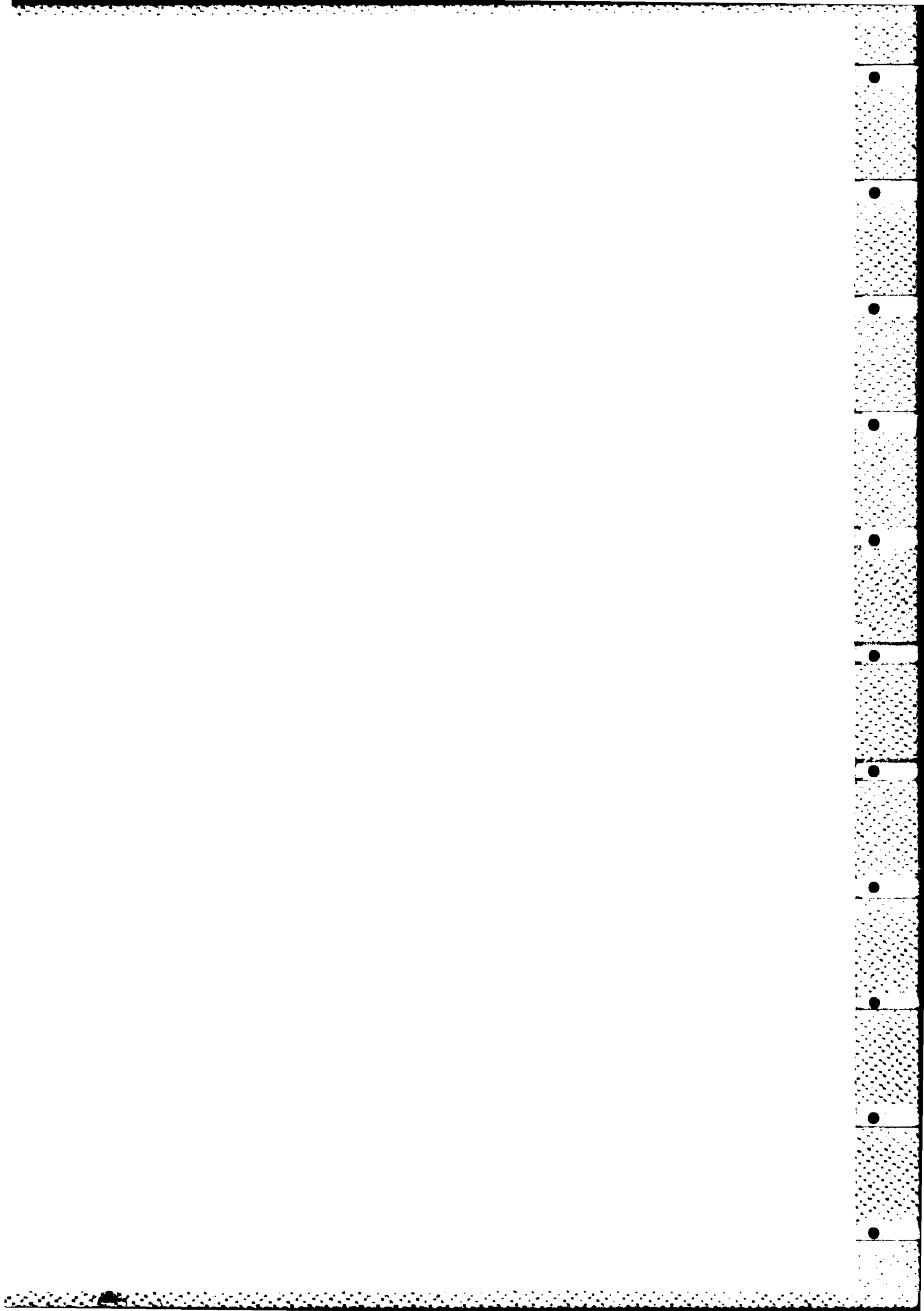
How deeply founded and how general these differences are becomes apparent if we examine their variation across the domains of life covered by the assessment. Findings show some significant, across-the-board variations which offer useful new insights. First, there is a remarkable consistency across domains in the intercultural distances measured between any two groups. Second, ethnic images are strikingly different for Puerto Ricans tested in San Juan and for Anglos; on the other hand, ethnic images show much greater similarity between Mexican Americans in Los Angeles and Anglo Americans in El Paso. Third, the distances measured between San Juan Puerto Ricans and Anglo Americans were larger than the differences between New York Puerto Ricans and Anglo Americans. These findings support previous observations that the broad area of interpersonal and social relations deserves special attention when Hispanics are to be integrated with the dominant culture.

Sex, age, economic background, and other sociodemographic variables are well recognized sources of differences which can affect organizational climate and personnel effectiveness. There is less consensus about ethnic/cultural influences, mainly because of the scarcity of empirical data. The comparative study of adult Hispanic and Anglo American samples offers some relevant insights based on empirical foundations. The results show that

Appendix A

PARTICIPANTS

Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Equal Opportunity & Safety Policy)	CAPT Frank Gamboa
Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Manpower & Reserve Affairs)	CDR Barbara McGann CDR Patrick A. Sabadie
Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower, Personnel and Training)	Mr. G. William Fabian Ms. Lynda Wheeler Mr. Sam Bowser Mr. Luis Joseph
Headquarters, Navy Recruiting Command	CAPT C. J. Bustamente Mr. Carl E. Kannapel CDR S. H. Evans
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	CAPT A. C. Williams CAPT Steven Rodriguez
Navy Personnel Research & Development Center	Ms. Patricia J. Thomas
Naval Postgraduate School, Department of Administrative Sciences	Prof. Mark J. Eitelberg
Headquarters, Naval Education & Training Command	Dr. Norman J. Kerr
Office of Naval Research	CAPT P. M. Curran LT John E. Deaton Dr. Martin A. Tolcott Dr. Bert T. King Dr. Susan Chipman
Walter Reed Army Medical Center	Dr. Mary L. Lozano
University of California, Los Angeles, Graduate School of Architecture & Urban Planning	Prof. Leobardo Estrada
University of Illinois, Department of Psychology	Prof. Harry C. Triandis
Institute of Comparative Social & Cultural Studies, Inc.	Dr. Lorand S. Szalay
The Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools	Dr. Jomills H. Braddock Dr. Robert L. Crain
National Institute of Education, Teaching and Instruction Division	Dr. Oscar Uribe
Smithsonian Institution, Manpower Research and Advisory Services	Dr. H. Wallace Sinaiko Ms. Becky Graham
Consultant	Dr. Jeffrey M. Schneider



the implications of that heterogeneity are for the Navy. Should Hispanic groups or individuals be provided differential treatment, and, if so, what costs will be incurred? More specifically, what resources will be required to support new selection procedures? new recruiting practices? special training regimes?

Competency in English--the ability to read training and technical material and the ability to communicate effectively in spoken language--is critical for all navy people. Some Hispanics are deficient in English, a condition that can limit (or prevent) military service. Since the occupations into which navy people are classified are becoming more demanding technologically, the importance of competency in English is increasing--a fact that could handicap prospective Hispanic recruits. What precisely are the minimum language requirements for recruit training? for various occupational areas in the Navy? To what extent should drill instructors and other trainers modify their approach to students for whom English is a second language?

The diminution of the youth cohort from which the Navy traditionally draws its recruits is a strong reason to look to Hispanics, who are: a) underrepresented in the Navy, and b) a growing sector of the population. To what extent can we make up the anticipated recruiting deficit with Hispanics? Should Hispanics be recruited into high technology fields? if so, how? and what are the costs of doing so? Or should Hispanics be restricted to non-technical jobs?

There is some evidence suggesting that Hispanics who have already joined the Navy are atypical of any of the Hispanic subpopulations in the United States. To what extent is this true? What are the characteristics of these atypical Hispanics? Is there a need for special recruiting, training, and career-management strategies to deal with such atypical individuals? What support mechanisms are called for?

Adjustment to the demands of service life is known to be enhanced by knowledge of what to expect. Should the Navy develop special programs to familiarize Hispanic recruits with the Navy and how it operates? Given the importance of the extended family in Hispanic culture, is there a surrogate that the Navy can offer? What are the implications of such a program for reinforcing stereotypes or perceptions of inadequacy?

Research reported at the workshop showed that Hispanics hold some beliefs and values that are different from those of mainstream Anglos. How important are Hispanic value differences? How rapidly and to what extent do such values change? How do they relate to job performance? How rapidly and to what extent does acculturation occur? How do value differences relate to other factors such as aptitude and motivation? What are the implications for recruitment, training, and career management?

In about 15 years the demographic trend will shift and the manpower supply will get better. (Estrada)

f. The real value of this workshop has been to show the importance of recruiting Hispanics; nothing of a negative nature has come up in that regard. Hispanic youth are available in sufficient numbers. The Navy may have to accommodate to Hispanics (and vice versa)--how much, we don't know. While the armed forces have always been preferential to some groups, special treatment creates resentment. (Estrada)

Research

a. Little was said at the workshop of a theoretical nature, nor were gaps in basic knowledge defined. It may be, therefore, that further research on Hispanic issues is unnecessary; i.e., it may be possible to extrapolate findings of earlier work on other minority groups. Or, on the basis of extant knowledge the Navy may be able to make good policy decisions about Hispanic personnel. In order to determine whether this is the case, we would need a thorough assessment of the state of our knowledge with respect to Hispanics, in particular, and minorities, in general. There is also knowledge available on the impact of English language facility on military performance; it needs to be assembled and evaluated before we launch any new major research programs. Many of the issues considered here are applied questions which need to be assessed in terms of our knowledge base on minorities, or English language facility and remediation, etc. Summarizing, our organizing this knowledge base ought to be a prelude to any new basic or applied research programs. (King)

b. There were few if any references to operational requirements vis-a-vis Hispanics in the Navy. Until requirements are made explicit there is not much likelihood that new research will be initiated or management action taken. (King)

c. We will need information on Hispanics based on larger, more representative samples than those used to date. The Navy should initiate longitudinal work to learn what happens to Hispanic recruits during their service. It is important to understand temporal effects, even though such research is time-consuming, expensive, and difficult to execute. Finally, any new R&D on Hispanics ought to be part of a systematic and comprehensive plan. (King)

CONCLUSIONS

A recurrent and consistent theme of the meeting was that Hispanic Americans are not a monolithic group but, rather, a set of four or five subpopulations distinguished by degree of acculturation to the mainstream society, command of English, and beliefs and attitudes. We must ask what

b. Should the Navy be prepared to adapt to individual (e.g., Hispanic) needs and provide preferential or differential treatment? Developments in the technology of computer adaptive testing (CAT) will prove to be useful. Computerized training would also serve to individualize training and at the same time provide online diagnostics. (Tolcott)

c. In considering a policy of avoiding ability grouping because it draws attention to differences between people, the Navy faces a dilemma: Do we segregate and deal with special needs, or treat everyone alike in the name of equity and ignore those needs? (Uribe)

Other Issues

a. Ethnicity is important because it conveys a sense of cohesion, of "we-ness." The military shouldn't treat people in ways that destroy their ethnicity. It is commonly believed that Hispanics make good soldiers and sailors; if that is really true, then a sense of ethnicity among its members is good for the military. ONR/Navy should look into ethnicity and the role it plays. (Estrada)

b. Talking about culture and tradition is confusing because both change over time. Acculturation doesn't mean losing or giving up one's minority culture; rather, it amounts to "mutual adaptation." Emphasize that we have learned how to get school kids to learn when there are differences among them. The Navy should do the same. (Uribe)

c. In considering new policies for dealing with Hispanics or other minority group members, the Navy should be pragmatic, i.e., look for what works and try it experimentally. The Navy should look to its own organizational processes--recruiting, promotions, and training--and how they create problems by differentiating people in subgroups. We need to study organizations and why they work well--there are important opportunities for such an approach. (Crain & Braddock)

d. While this workshop has focused on Hispanics as a social group, we can't lose sight of the Navy's primary responsibility, which is mission readiness. It follows, then, that the Navy has to recruit people who are best suited to its mission. However, we should develop an understanding of the deficits some Hispanics might bring to naval service, how to eliminate those deficits, and how much it would cost. (Schneider) It is important to recognize that the military has been one of the nation's major providers of social benefits--as indicated, for example, by the training it does and the high school equivalency certificates it generates. The military, particularly the Navy, has had a great deal to do with bringing people into the American mainstream; to lose sight of that would be unfortunate. (Crain)

e. Fulfilling its manpower needs requires that the Navy try to capture untapped markets. But there are other approaches: improving the retention of the people we have, and substituting capital for labor through automation.

d. Researchers in the training area don't know enough about the effects of language proficiency, or about information-processing under stress. The cognitive- and linguistic-processing domains are important. Further, it is questionable whether Hispanics should be required to be able to write in a second language while under the stresses of combat. (Chipman)

e. All that is necessary to enhance what Hispanics and other minorities are able to offer the Navy is a standard off-the-shelf educational program administered selectively. Although this might be seen as differential treatment, its net effect would be to make the Navy better, not more diverse. (Szalay)

f. The United States has had a lot of experience recruiting aliens to its military, and at times the army has been 25 percent foreign-born. Throughout our history, therefore, English has been an important issue. (Sinaiko)

Recruiting

a. Recruiters have been re-examining their approach to minority advertising because few people outside the Navy understand the diversity of opportunities in the military, or that there are many support jobs and jobs ashore. In the officer recruiting domain there is a shortage of minority officers to serve as role models. Further, minority officers resist billets in minority affairs as non-career-enhancing, and some blame their failures to get ahead on such assignments. The heterogeneity of Hispanic subpopulations creates uncertainty among recruiters as to how to approach Hispanic individuals. The Navy Recruiting Command, as a way of establishing bridges to minority youth through its community development program, works with special youth programs, Mexican American societies, and other groups. (Bustamente)

b. The Marine Corps has no special approach to recruiting Hispanics, nor are there Hispanic recruiting quotas. (Rodriguez)

Equal Opportunity and Social Differentiation

a. There is high level support for equal opportunity but confusion as to what the concept means. Is it societal representation? is it employment quotas or goals? When a desired goal in minority recruiting is attained, should that become a cap? should it be the same for all paygrades and ranks? Education is at the heart of equal opportunity, as are support groups among minority personnel at the Naval Academy and elsewhere. We don't know, for example, why there is a high failure rate among blacks in flight training. Is it because there are so few in each class? or are blacks mistreated in flight training? The Navy needs to provide cultural awareness in recruit training. In sum, there is a burden on the leaders of multi-ethnic groups, particularly junior officers. (Gamboa)

- a. Develop more effective methods of media advertising in order to reach a broader audience (e.g., show minority individuals in highly visible and significant roles in TV ads); and make more effective use of advertising directed at specific minority groups.
- b. Be aware of the limitations of word-of-mouth recruitment when relying on recommendations of current employees, since such methods tend to reproduce existing workforce demographics.
- c. Consider making use of community-based groups in recruitment efforts whenever possible.

DISCUSSION

Representatives of naval commands, ONR staff, and others commented on what they had heard and, in some cases, their command's perspectives of Hispanic issues. This section of the report is a summary of those remarks.

English Language

- a. With respect to English there is no doubt that acquiring English proficiency is desirable among all immigrants to the United States. There is a strong motivation to learn both spoken and written English, but the opportunities for older (adult) learners are limited. Puerto Ricans don't have a functional need to speak English before they come to mainland U.S. Not knowing English is a liability for all Hispanics, however. Bilingualism is best, but it is difficult to preserve because of the attitude, widely prevalent in Hispanic communities, of, "Don't speak English, but don't forget it." (Estrada)
- b. Command of English, particularly under the pressure of military operations, is critical. For example, in a marine tactical air control exercise, some Hispanic members reverted to speaking Spanish and thereby curtailed the entire operation. (Williams)
- c. The Navy's Education and Training Command (CNET) is presently involved in a remedial training, skill-enhancement experiment with a group of 600 Puerto Ricans; they will go through English language training at the Defense Language Institute before entering recruit training. CNET routinely provides remedial reading to Hispanics and anyone else requiring it, and the effects have been positive in terms of reduced training attrition. There is a special training module for bilingual recruits who are considered at least partially disadvantaged. CNET is concerned about a possible diminution of the quality of recruits entering the Navy; there is a need to have a "large scale remediation program" on the shelf. The command tends to disregard exclusively cultural aspects of training, but the area should be looked into. (Kerr)

b. In trying to understand why minority personnel fail, don't be content with analyses of "culture" and "overt discrimination" as complete explanations. Rather, management should recognize that many nondiscriminatory policies and practices are fair but inefficient procedures in that they fail to obtain the desired numbers of minorities. (Inappropriate selection techniques, for example, are sometimes a case in point.) The issue is not one of assigning blame to employers, but simply devising new "fair and efficient" systems to replace systems which were equally "fair" but "inefficient."

c. Management should look for exemplary practices that have worked, and analyze their success. Who has succeeded? Was recruitment better in some years than others? Are some individuals more effective than others? Why?

d. The Navy should do small experiments to determine if successful practices can be replicated. The cost of experiments is often low, so the cost of failure is small compared to the size of the payoff when an experiment succeeds.

In related research sponsored by ONR, the CSOS is currently analyzing data from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of the High School Class of 1972 as well the Survey of American Employers (SAE). The two surveys are linked in that the employers were selected because their workers included NLS respondents.

Preliminary analyses of data from the Survey of American Employers suggests that various recruitment methods used by firms are differentially effective in reaching minority workers (Hispanics and blacks) and majority workers:

a. Employer recruitment practices which rely on referrals by current employees are ineffective in obtaining both college-trained blacks and Hispanics but quite effective in obtaining college-trained whites.

b. Employer recruitment practices which rely on media advertising are often ineffective in obtaining college-trained blacks and Hispanics but quite effective in obtaining college-trained whites.

c. Employer recruitment methods which make use of community-based organizations reach minority workers, but such recruitment practices are seldom used by employers.

d. Employer recruitment methods which allow direct application (that is, accept applications from walk-in candidates) tend to be quite effective in reaching minority workers.

Although these findings are preliminary, they suggest that in applying them to its desire to increase Hispanic (and black) participation, the Navy should:

Hispanic students in the West and Northeast than of black students in the South, though some Hispanic groups suffer higher levels of school segregation than others.

Residential segregation has remained relatively high for the past three decades. The Cubans are the least segregated, the Mexican Americans are mixed, and the Puerto Ricans are the most segregated residentially from mainstream whites. Levels of residential segregation from blacks and from other Hispanic groups are also high.

The main effect of these forms of segregation is to sharply reduce intergroup social interactions. That, in turn, magnifies behavioral differences, inhibits the development of cohesive power groups, and facilitates the emergence of different needs. Ultimately, educational attainment suffers, and for the Navy this may mean the necessity of providing remedial training.

In an educational setting, the differences between and within Hispanic subgroups matter only to the extent that they interfere with learning. Interferences may be academic, race-related, or interpersonal. Among the principles which have been developed for minimizing these interferences are the following:

- a. Develop rules and procedures that are clear, fair, and consistent; administer them with persistence and equality.
- b. Avoid rigid forms of ability grouping that draw attention to individual and group differences in academic and performance achievement; particularly de-emphasize, in both academic and social settings, characteristics associated with race or national origin.
- c. Use cooperative and interactive instructional techniques. This approach may appear to be simple, but it is actually very difficult to put into practice.

The main message is to use procedures that include rather than those that separate or exclude.

Career Patterns

Drs. Jomillis H. Braddock II and Robert L. Crain, Center for the Social Organization of Schools (CSOS), The Johns Hopkins University

Considerable research on problems of locating minority employees for highly skilled positions leads us to these general guidelines for increasing minority participation.

- a. Employers should be aware of the full range of factors that influence careers. Such factors are both individual (e.g., skills and training) and structural (e.g., social networks, recruitment methods, discrimination experiences, selection criteria).

Hispanics generally score higher than blacks on the verbal component of military screening tests.

Education and Training for Hispanic Subpopulations

Oscar Uribe, National Institute of Education

There is ample evidence that Hispanic subpopulations differ from one another, and from mainstream groups, in many significant ways. Psychocultural differences exist between and within the different groups, and these differences influence the way that groups get along and work together. Of course, Hispanic groups also have many things in common with one another and with the majority culture.

Hispanic subgroups are different from each other, for example, in these ways: a) how their original contact with the majority culture was established; b) their degree of distance from the society-wide network of institutions and associations; c) the types of discriminatory mechanisms employed against them; d) the strategies used by them and their allies to overcome the effects of discriminatory treatment, and the results of those strategies; e) federal and state government policies toward them as a group, and the implementation of those policies by government agencies and officials; f) the general public's knowledge about them (especially the knowledge that the public officials and institutions have about them); and g) their success in American society.

First we should ask in what contexts the differences are important--and, where they are, whether they can be altered and at what cost. The military should begin with this question, though it is not an easy one. In the meantime, the services face the question of the extent to which Hispanics should be treated differently from mainstreamers or from other Hispanics in their education and training.

The treatment of groups that differ from mainstreamers poses dilemmas. To treat them the same ignores their special needs, but to treat them as a separate group is not cost effective, fails to provide equal opportunity, and may bring about segregation (which is unconstitutional); it may also foster jealousy and charges of preferential treatment, raise harmful distinctions, and reinforce stereotypes. When groups are treated separately, questions are raised as to who is the more in need, and at what point we know that inequities have been corrected. The mainstream majority often seems to believe that "equity" is a fixed amount to be doled out in small amounts to a deserving minority.

School segregation and residential segregation are particularly important considerations for any strategy attempting to meet the education and training needs of Hispanic subgroups. The Joint Center for Political Studies (1982) found that there had been a substantial increase in Hispanic student segregation from 1968 through 1980 in every region of the country. Nationwide in 1980, 63 percent of black students and 68 percent of Hispanic students were in predominantly minority schools. This was even more true of

mainstream society. This unevenness is due to many factors. For example, because Cubans were largely a political immigrant group originally representing middle class urban society, they came to this country equipped with many of the skills necessary for social achievement. Mexican Americans have come to this country as a steady flow over a long period of time from primarily rural backgrounds. Until recently, the majority has remained concentrated in the Southwest and has been trapped in agricultural and mining jobs with limited educational opportunities. Puerto Ricans have been classed as economic immigrants, yet many do not have the skills necessary to secure jobs that offer any degree of economic mobility. In all cases, however, differences in English proficiency and educational attainment seem to be among the important factors in socioeconomic achievement. Unfortunately, the public school system has failed Hispanics (and, even more so, blacks) in this respect--a fact that has blocked their full participation in mainstream society. Therefore, if the military is committed to the special training required for Hispanic subgroups, it can expect that they will be an effective and valuable manpower resource.

Selected areas for further research on Hispanic participation in the military are:

- a. More intensive examination of the social and psychological differences between Hispanic subgroups so that recruiting can be targeted to them more effectively;
- b. Continuing study of job-search methods used by Hispanic subgroups, particularly the manner or means by which job information about the military is sought and obtained (including the influence of media advertising);
- c. Research on the patterns and outcomes of enlistment application by Hispanic subgroups, by area of the country, to learn more about regional influences and differences in the motivation of Hispanic subgroups to enlist in each of the military services;
- d. Close examination of the behavior patterns and associated performance of Hispanics in the military--especially the tendency of Hispanic service members to be married and have dependents, and the implications of this, if any, for individual and unit performance;
- e. Analysis of the superior performance of some Hispanic groups (e.g., low attrition among Mexican Americans) to see if the services can profit from such information;
- f. Exploration of possible adjustment problems of Hispanics in the military, particularly those problems related to cultural factors, with an eye to overcoming them. This would include research on the medical patterns that seem to distinguish Hispanic military members from other service personnel and veterans; and
- g. Further study of the influence of being Hispanic on ASVAB (Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery) performance, and determination of why

on both math and verbal portions. Aptitude testing is used to determine assignment to training in military jobs, and it is seen that Hispanics are overrepresented in medical, dental, administrative, and combat-arms specialties; Hispanics are underrepresented, on the other hand, in most high-tech occupations. (A forthcoming report, "Manpower for Military Occupations," highlights racial/ethnic group differences in performance on the aptitude test composites used by the military services, including estimates of the number and percentage of whites, blacks, and Hispanics who would be expected to qualify for occupational training in all areas in each of the services.)

In looking toward increased Hispanic participation in the U.S. military, one can set out a number of considerations:

a. Underrepresentation is seen by manpower analysts as a condition to be corrected because military service yields training benefits for lower class youth and a new manpower source for the military is opened up. The public's view differs from this in that many still see military service as an unfair risk and a burden on the nation's minority poor. In any case, because the Hispanic population is both growing and youthful, and is projected to constitute a larger portion of this country's labor pool by the end of this century, it should be viewed as an important manpower resource for the military.

b. The socioeconomic standing of Hispanics, although generally lower than that of majority averages, should be considered in historical perspective. Much of the Hispanic population represents the nation's "new immigrants," and lack of English proficiency and other skills which are important for social mobility tend to bring down the socioeconomic statistical standing of the entire Hispanic population. Much of the rest of the Hispanic population has remained separated from mainstream society through social prejudice and geographical isolation and only recently has started to converge with mainstream society. As a newly emerging minority, Hispanics have a socioeconomic status no different from that passed through by other minority groups which entered this society at earlier stages of the nation's history.

c. It is important that government agencies, such as the Census Bureau, recognize Hispanics as an entity for policy planning. However, because the subgroups included within the Hispanic designation are widely separated from one another geographically and have evolved from different backgrounds and lived under different conditions, they currently have developed different levels of social achievement and different needs; therefore they are attracted to the military in different ways. It is important to develop recruitment and training policy oriented toward Hispanics in general, but also to develop such policies toward specific Hispanic subgroups (Mexican Americans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, in particular).

As a general conclusion, the differences between Hispanic and mainstream groups, as well as among Hispanic subgroups, appear to be largely a result of the unevenness with which the Hispanic subgroups are merging with

300 entries. The presentation to the ONR workshop deals with one aspect of the study, a descriptive account of the participation of Hispanic subgroups in the all-volunteer military.

Hispanic participation in the armed forces since 1971 has been relatively low and invariant; i.e., about 1.5 percent of the officer force and 3.9 percent of the enlisted force are Hispanic. Unlike blacks, Hispanics are greatly underrepresented in the military. There are, however, different participation rates among subgroups; e.g., Puerto Ricans are slightly over-represented and Mexican Americans are underrepresented. Participation rates in reserve components as a whole are similar to those of the active force. As expected from the distribution of Hispanic subpopulations in the country, 75 percent of all Mexican American recruits come from two states, Texas and California; almost 90 percent of Puerto Rican recruits come from Puerto Rico and New York; while 80 percent of Cuban entrants are from New Jersey or Florida. With respect to prior education, a higher proportion of Hispanic recruits (Cubans excepted) than of whites entering the military are high school graduates (93 percent in fiscal 1983), second only to blacks (95 percent) among the major racial/ethnic groups. Puerto Ricans have the largest percentage of graduates. Relatively more Hispanics enter the services married than either blacks or whites; e.g., 20 percent of Puerto Rican, 11 percent of white, and 7 percent of black recruits are married; and, in the active duty force as well, the proportion of Hispanic enlistees who are married and have dependents is noticeably higher than the comparable proportion of whites or blacks. The occupational distribution of Hispanic subgroups in the military has been studied, and, like blacks, they tend to be overrepresented in the clerical and combat-arms areas and underrepresented in the technical jobs.

First term attrition rates are somewhat lower among Hispanics than among whites or blacks. Subpopulations differ, however: Mexican American rates are very low and Cuban rates are relatively high. Attrition rates among Hispanics are about twice as high for non-high-school-graduates as for graduates--a fact that is also true of whites and blacks. Here, Mexican Americans who are high school graduates have the lowest rate of attrition (about 17 percent) compared with about 23 percent for whites and blacks. The military discharges of Hispanics tend to be concentrated in the "early release" category, which is not the case for whites or blacks. There is some other evidence that Hispanic service members may have adjustment problems. Among Puerto Rican soldiers, for example, there seems to be a unique psychological pattern that occurs especially among those stationed in Germany. Data from the Veterans Administration show that in 1983 about 35 percent of all Hispanics (compared with 19 percent of whites) who were treated and discharged had psychotic diagnoses.

Average aptitude test scores on the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) are highest for whites, next for Hispanics, and lowest for blacks. Within the Hispanic groups, Cubans and Mexican Americans had the highest mean scores; most Hispanic subgroups exceed the mean score for blacks. Another aptitude measure, reading ability, shows similar results; and on the College Board test, Hispanics generally exceed the median scores of blacks

culture is the single most important source of variation affecting perceptions and attitudes. Sex and age were found to have relatively moderate effects on the distances measured, at least when compared to the cultural differences. In all these comparisons, the Anglo Americans showed the most homogeneity and the Puerto Ricans the least. That is, the distances between the Anglo American rich and poor or male and female subsamples were consistently smaller than those found within the Mexican American or the Puerto Rican subsamples.

Although the more traditional Hispanic Americans may indeed constitute a relative minority, the results show that this minority is characterized by highly distinct perceptual and motivational dispositions which deserve attention. Importantly for the naval services, the most traditional Hispanic values are likely to be most compatible with military ideals of loyalty, obedience, and commitment. Puerto Ricans (in San Juan) see discipline and leadership as positive values. Together with the Cubans, they viewed discipline in favorable terms, while the Anglo and Mexican samples were predominantly critical. The Puerto Ricans in particular showed a strong predisposition to view discipline as well as order, authority, and leadership as basic prerequisites of success and good performance.

There is a practical tradeoff in this regard, however: Hispanic youth who would be the most desirable for military service in terms of their psychocultural dispositions are, because of language and location, more difficult to recruit.

Evidence on the extent to which Hispanic values change during military service can be inferred from research on Filipino naval personnel. Socialization to the navy culture made Filipinos more like the mainstream cultural baseline as time-in-service increased.

Interpersonal relations are the most critical aspect of adjusting to a second culture and the area of greatest difference between all Hispanic subgroups and Anglos. The ways people relate to each other and to authority define the differences between Hispanic subpopulations and between them and Anglos. In summary, the research suggests that in dealing with diverse Hispanic groups--with many of the differences below the surface--the Navy should capitalize on the diversity in its recruiting, training, and other aspects of socialization.

Historical Data on Hispanics in the U.S. Military
Mark Eitelberg, Naval Postgraduate School

This is a status report of a study (in progress) sponsored by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Directorate of Accession Policy. The major objectives have been to understand a) the social history of Hispanics in the U.S. military and in American society in general and b) more specifically, the potential of Hispanic subgroups as a manpower resource for military service. The study will result in the publication of two works: a book (Hispanics and the Military) and an annotated bibliography with over

Appendix B

AGENDA

8:00 Coffee

8:30 Call to order - Procedures - Announcements

Curran

8:45 Demographic overview of Hispanic America

Estrada

9:15 Cultural patterns of Hispanics vis-a-vis military service

Triandis

9:45

Break

10:00 Psychocultural findings

Szalay

10:30 Hispanics in the military: Social history

Eitelberg

11:00 Training and education

Uribe

11:30 Career patterns

Braddock
Crain

12:00

Lunch

1:30 Perceptions of naval agencies

2:45

Break

3:00 Summary of main issues

Curran

3:15 Panel discussion

King
Schneider
Sinalko

4:00 Adjournment

Head, Military Compensation
Policy Branch
Office of the DCNO(MPT) (Op-134)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Head, Workforce Information Section
Office of the DCNO(MPT) (Op-140F)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Head, Family Support Program Branch
Office of the DCNO(MPT) (Op-156)
1300 Wilson Boulevard, Room 828
Arlington, VA 22209

Head, Economic Analysis Branch
Office of the DCNO (Op-162)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps
Code MPI-20
Washington, DC 20380

Program Manager for Manpower,
Personnel, and Training
Naval Material Command/Office of
Naval Technology (Code 0722)
Arlington, VA 22217

Director, Decision Support Systems Div.
Naval Military Personnel Command (N-164)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Director, Distribution Department
Naval Military Personnel Command (N-4)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Asst. for Evaluation, Analysis, & MIS
Naval Military Personnel Command (N-6C)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Director, Overseas Duty Support Program
Naval Military Personnel Command (N-62)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Head, HRM Operations Branch
Naval Military Personnel Command (N-62F)
Department of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370

Director, Recreational Services Div.
Naval Military Personnel Command (N-65)
1300 Wilson Boulevard, Room 998
Arlington, VA 22209

Director, Research & Analysis Division
Navy Recruiting Command (Code 22)
4015 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22203

Naval School of Health Sciences
National Naval Medical Center (Bldg. 141)
Washington, DC 20814
Attn: CDR Karen Reider

Leadership Management Education and
Training Project Officer
Naval Medical Command (Code 05C)
Washington, DC 20372

Commanding Officer
Navy Personnel R&D Center
San Diego, CA 92152

Technical Director
NPRDC (Code 01)
San Diego, CA 92152

Deputy Technical Director
NPRDC (Code 01A)
San Diego, CA 92152

Fleet Support Office
NPRDC (Code 301)
San Diego, CA 92152

Director, Training Laboratory
NPRDC (Code 05)
San Diego, CA 92152

Director, Manpower and Personnel
Laboratory
NPRDC (Code 06)
San Diego, CA 92152

Director, Human Factors and
Organizational Systems Laboratory
NPRDC (Code 07)
San Diego, CA 92152

Department of Administrative Sciences
Naval Postgraduate School (Code 54Ea)
Monterey, CA 93940

Department of Operations Research
Naval Postgraduate School (Code 55mt)
Monterey, CA 93940

Technical Director
Navy Health Research Center
P.O. Box 85122
San Diego, CA 92138

Principal Civilian Advisor on
Education and Training
Naval Education and Training Command
NAS Pensacola, FL 32508

Assistant Chief of Staff for Research,
Development, Test, and Evaluation
Naval Education and Training Command (N-5)
NAS Pensacola, FL 32508

Special Assistant for Research, Experi-
mental Programs, & Academic Programs
Naval Technical Training Command
(Code 016)
NAS Memphis (75)
Millington, TN 38054

Program Director
Manpower Research & Advisory Services
Smithsonian Institution
801 North Pitt Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

Military Assistant for Training and
Personnel Technology
Office of the Under Secretary of
Defense for Research and Engineering
3D129, The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301

Personnel Analysis Division
AF/MPXA
5C360, The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20330

Technical Director
U.S. Army Research Institute for the
Behavioral and Social Sciences
5001 Eisenhower Avenue
Alexandria, VA 22333

Director, Manpower Support and
Readiness Program
Center for Naval Analyses
2000 North Beauregard Street
Alexandria, VA 22311

Scientific Advisor to the DCNO(MPT)
Manpower Support and Readiness Program
Center for Naval Analyses
2000 North Beauregard Street
Alexandria, VA 22311

Army Research Institute
Attn: PERI-RS
5001 Eisenhower Avenue
Alexandria, VA 22333

Dr. Irwin G. Sarason
Department of Psychology (NI-25)
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195

Dr. Richard C. Morey
Graduate School of Business Admin.
Duke University
Durham, NC 27706

Dr. Eric Flamholtz
Graduate School of Management
UCLA
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Dr. David Kieras
Department of Psychology
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Dr. David Bowers
Rensis Likert Associates
3001 S. State St.
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Dr. Lawrence R. James
School of Psychology
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, GA 30332

Dr. John R. Frederiksen
Bolt Beranek & Newman Inc.
50 Moulton Street
Cambridge, MA 02238

Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps
Human Development Branch
Code MHH
Washington, DC 20380-0001

Dr. Lee Roy Beach
Department of Psychology (NI-25)
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195

Chief, Human Resources
National Guard Bureau
2D258, The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20310-2500

Dr. Cynthia D. Fisher
College of Business Administration
Texas A&M University
College Park, TX 77843

Dr. Barbara Means
Human Resources Research Organization
1100 South Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

Dr. Lawrence Goldberg
Economic Research Laboratory
1914 Association Drive
Reston, VA 22091

Dr. James C. Coyne
Mental Research Institute
555 Middlefield Road
Palo Alto, CA 94301

Dr. Robert P. Archer
Eastern Virginia Medical Authority
P. O. Box 1980
Norfolk, VA 23501

CAPT Mac C. Gaston
NMPC, N-61
Dept. of the Navy
Washington, DC 20370-2000

Chief, Equal Opportunity
ODCSPER(DAPE-HRL-E)
2C726, The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20310-0300

Chief, Equal Opportunity Treatment/
Human Relations Education
AF/MPXHE
5C238, The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20330-5060

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
NAS Alameda, CA 94501

Director, Human Resource Management
Training Department
Naval Amphibious School
NAB Coronado, CA 92155

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Naval Training Center Building 304
San Diego, CA 92133

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Naval Submarine Base New London
P.O. Box 81
Groton, CT 06340

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
NAS Mayport, FL 32228

Director, Organizational Effectiveness
Department
Naval Aviation Schools Command
NAS Pensacola, FL 32508

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Pearl Harbor, HI 96860

CINCPACFLT
Organizational Effectiveness Division
Code 71
Pearl Harbor, HI 96860

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Naval Base, Charleston, SC 29408

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness School
NAS Memphis (96)
Millington, TN 38054

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
1300 Wilson Boulevard, CWR Rm 1148
Arlington, VA 22209

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
5621-23 Tidewater Drive
Norfolk, VA 23509

Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet
Organizational Effectiveness Division
Code NO41
Norfolk, VA 23511

Director, Human Resource Management
Training Department
Naval Amphibious School
NAB Little Creek
Norfolk, VA 23521

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
NAS Whidbey Island
Oak Harbor, WA 98278

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
U.S. Naval Station Rota, Box 41
FPO New York 90540

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Box 3
FPO New York 09521

Commander
Organizational Effectiveness System Europe
Box 23
FPO New York 09501

Commander in Chief U.S. Naval Forces
Europe
Organizational Effectiveness Division
FPO New York 09501

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Subic Bay
Box 60
San Francisco 96651

Commanding Officer
Organizational Effectiveness Center
Yokosuka
P.O. Box 4
FPO Seattle 98762

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